2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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privileges of clanship have the force of rights in the case of *sunzɔp* belonging to the same clan, but are subject to a wider margin of flexibility and voluntary adjustment in the case of extra-clan *sunzɔp*. Some privileges which the former can claim are not held by the latter.

In short, here, as with the Namoos, clanship, or more specifically the ties of clan brotherhood (*sunzɔt*) between lineages, is a matter of degree. An illustration will show how it works. We shall take again the example of a distribution made at a funeral ceremony, but the same rules apply in all other aspects of clan relationships. A food distribution of minor importance, usually managed by the younger men, with an accompaniment of considerable hilarity, occurs on the evening of *Kogbeda'ar*, about the middle of the funeral ceremony. It is an occasion on which one usually hears the claims and counter-claims of the different groups represented argued out with great fervour. On *Kogbeda'ar* of the late Zubiuŋ-Yakɔra tendaana's funeral the meat of the animals contributed was divided out among the *sunzɔp* lineages as follows: Kpaɣara-yaɣardɛm, as the closest *sunzɔp*, received the share of greatest distinction, the hind leg of a sheep; Yapaasdɛm, the next closest *sunzɔp*, received the shoulder of a sheep; Gbizugdɛm, next in order of closeness, received the hind leg of a goat (for the Tallensi, unlike ourselves, regard the sheep as a nobler animal than the goat). Lastly came the Zoo-Yiraaŋdɛm, whose share was the foreleg of a goat. Ba'at-Sakpardɛm were not present on this occasion; had they been they would have been entitled to a portion equivalent to the hind leg of a goat. The closest ties of clanship are those which entail the most definite and strict obligations and carry in compensation the most definite rights and superior privileges. These are the ties that bind the lineage to the other lineages which, with it, make up a single composite clan.

The attached lineage of Pulien biis shares the extra-clan ties of clanship of the authentic lineage of the Yakɔradɛm, but it has in addition a tie of clanship independent of the authentic lineage. This links it to one of the segments of Sakpee, a Tɛnzugu clan. According to their tradition, their ancestor Pulien was begotten by a Sakpee man, who later divorced his wife, Pulien's mother, by blowing ashes on her. The recent history of this relationship throws an interesting light on the factors which keep alive the ties of clanship between linked maximal lineages, and on their dynamic characteristics.

About a generation ago a Sakpee man married a daughter of Pulien biis in defiance of the exogamic ban. The protests of the elders of both lineages were fruitless. The drastic sanctions which might have been resorted to were out of the question; in theory, because the two lineages were related by ties of clanship; in practice, no doubt, because they were extremely difficult to apply on account of the political barriers between Zubiuŋ and Tɛnzugu. So the matter was allowed to slide, and left to the arbitrament of the ancestor spirits. The marriage, said the elders, would be sterile, or all the children would die. In the end, however, the offending couple reared a large and successful family; so apparently this breach of kinship (*dɔɣam*) was not a sin after all.

In spite of this, Pulien biis continued to maintain their ties of clanship